

## Message Text

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51

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 NEA-06 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 IO-10

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4927

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

CINCAPC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 17847

USLO PEKING FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, US, XF

SUBJ: BREZHNEV SPEECH IN ULAN BATOR

1. SUMMARY: SPEAKING IN MONGOLIA, SOVIET PARTY CHIEF BREZHNEV REITERATED MOSCOW'S DESIRE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH PEKING, BUT CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ANY PULLBACK FROM "DISPUTED AREAS." HE LEFT THE HEAVY DENUNCIATION, HOWEVER, TO MONGOLIAN PARTY CHIEF TSEDENBAL, WHO LAID IT ON WITH FEELING. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE SPEECHES REPRESENT A FIRM RE-STATEMENT OF MOSCOW'S POSITION AND ARE, IN EFFECT, A REPLY TO PEKINGS NOVEMBER 7 ANNIVERSARY GREETING. IN A LONG U.S. SECTION OF THE SPEECH, BREZHNEV WAS STRONGLY POSITIVE ON THE SALT PROGRESS. ON THE MIDDLE EAST HE WAS CAREFUL NOT TO CONCEDE TO PLO EXTREMIST FORMULAS. END SUMMARY.

2. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IN ULAN BATOR (WE ARE WORKING FROM ENGLISH TASS TEXT, AS RUSSIAN IS NOT YET AVAILABLE) FOLLOWS THE GENERAL PATTERN OF RECENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP STATEMENTS ON CHINA IN REITERATING MOSCOW'S ALLEGED DESIRE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LINE OF THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS, TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH PEKING. UNLIKE OTHER RECENT SPEAKERS, HOWEVER, HE DID NOT DENOUNCE THE PEKING LEADERSHIP DIRECTLY. THE FOCUS OF HIS REMARKS WAS DIRECTED AT ANSWERING THE CENTRAL POINT RAISED IN PEKING'S ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE - THE ISSUE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM DISPUTED AREAS. BREZHNEV CHARGED THAT PEKING'S DEEDS DO NOT MATCH ITS WORDS ON THE DESIRE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS--THE FIRST SPECIFIC SOVIET REFERENCE TO THE PRC'S NOVEMBER 7 GREETING. BREZHNEV SAID, FIRST, THAT PEKING'S DEMAND FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM THOSE AREAS "IS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE AND WE REJECT IT." HE THEN WENT ON TO ALLEGE THAT THE WHOLE ISSUE OF "DISPUTED AREAS" IS A CHINESE FABRICATION, SAYING THAT THE CHINESE CLAIM "OUR" TERRITORY BUT THAT MOSCOW CLAIMS NO "FOREIGN" LANDS. "THERE ARE NO 'DISPUTED AREAS' TO US IN THIS SENSE," HE ASSERTED.

3. THE SOVIET LEADER LEFT THE HEAVY PROPAGANDA ASSAULT TO TSEDENBAL. IN THAT PORTION OF HIS SPEECH, TSEDENBAL DESCRIBED  
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PEKING'S POLICY AND ACTIONS AS "AIMED AT MAINTAINING AND AGGRAVATING THE EXISTING HOTBEDS OF WAR AND TENSION" IN OPPOSITION TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY." "THE ANTI-SOCIALIST, ANTI-PEOPLE COURSE OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP WHICH HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH MARXISM-LENINISM, RESTS ON GREAT-POWER CHAUVINISM AND HEGEMONISTIC AMBITIONS", HE SAID.

4. THE DETAILS OF BREZHNEV'S REMARKS ARE PROBABLY AIMED AT

COUNTERING THE FAVORABLE PUBLICITY WHICH PEKING RECEIVED BY PUBLISHING ITS VERSION OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN ITS ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE, AND THUS AT RETURNING TO PEKING THE ONUS FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN SETTling THE DISPUTE. TSEDENBAL'S COMMENTS ARE OBVIOUSLY INTENDED TO BE READ TOGETHER WITH BREZHNEV'S. (IN RECENT MONTHS THE SOVIETS HAVE RELIED ON POLISH, HUNGARIAN AND EAST GERMAN COMRADES TO DENOUNCE THE CHINESE MORE VIGOROUSLY THAN THEY THEMSELVES.) TAKEN TOGETHER, THE TWO SPEECHES SHOW NO SOFTENING OF THE SOVIET POSITION AND NO HINT WHATSOEVER OF ANY NEW FLEXIBILITY IN THIS REGARD. WE ALSO NOTE THAT BREZHNEV, IN HIS REVIEW OF SOVIET-MONGOLIAN HISTORY, REFERRED TO THE COMMON DEFENCE AGAINST THE ATTEMPTED INVASION BY "JAPANESE MILITARISTS" AND THE COMMON ASSAULT IN 1945 AGAINST THE IMPERIAL KWANTUNG ARMY IN CHINA.

5. BREZHNEV DEVOTED ALMOST AS MUCH SPACE TO THE U.S. AS HE DID TO CHINA. HIS STATEMENT THAT A "CONSIDERABLE STEP FORWARD" HAD BEEN MADE ON SALT AT VLADIVOSTOK IS PREDICTABLY UPBEAT. BUT HIS "AGREEMENT" WITH PRESIDENT FORD THAT WORK WILL BE CONCLUDED ON AN AGREEMENT "IN THE NEAREST MONTHS TO COME" INVOLVED HIM IN A RARE PREDICTION ON SUCH A SENSITIVE SUBJECT. IN SAYING THAT THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING CONFIRMED THE RESOLVE TO STRENGTHEN BILATERAL RELATIONS, BREZHNEV IN EFFECT GAVE HIS PERSONAL ENDORSEMENT TO THE PRESIDENT'S BONA FIDES IN PLEDGING CONTINUITY. IT IS INTERESTING THAT BREZHNEV MADE A SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS; WE SEE THIS NOT ONLY AS A GESTURE OF RESPECT FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER, BUT ALSO AS FURTHER INDICATION (FOLLOWING GROMYKO'S SELECTION TO GIVE THE NOVEMBER 7 ANNIVERSARY SPEECH) OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER'S HIGH STATUS. THE U.S. SECTION OF THE BREZHNEV SPEECH CONTAINS NO IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE U.S.; THIS IS NOT TRUE OF THE MIDDLE EAST SECTION.

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6. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE, BREZHNEV APPARENTLY SOUGHT TO BALANCE ASSURANCES ABOUT MOSCOW'S FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB CAUSE WITH A STRONG PLEDGE OF SOVIET BACKING FOR A ME PEACE BASED ON STANDARD SOVIET FORMULAS. HE TOOK A TOUGH LINE ON ISRAEL AND OBLIQUELY THE U.S., ACCUSING TEL AVIV "WITH OBVIOUS SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE" OF OPENLY SABOTAGING A PEACEFUL ME SETTLEMENT. HE ALSO MADE THE EXPECTED PLUG FOR GENEVA AS THE FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH A ME PEACE "CAN AND MUST BE ACHIEVED." UNDOUBTEDLY CASTING A CAREFUL EYE AT ARAFAT, WHO IS NOW IN MOSCOW, BREZHNEV BALANCED SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ALL ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED IN 1967 AND REALIZATION OF THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO STATEHOOD AND SELF-DETERMINATION WITH SUPPORT FOR "RELIABLE AND AUTHORITATIVE GUARANTEES OF THE SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF ALL COUNTRIES NOW DRAWN INTO THE SPHERE OF THE CONFLICT." HE, THUS, MADE NO

EVIDENT CONCESSIONS TO PLO EXTREMIST FORMULAS.  
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